l: Karsten--245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
461 (1928-29)

"Although among the Jibaros, as in most Indian tribes, the women as a rule seem to work more than the men, the latter can by no means be characterized as lazy; in fact, the Jibaro Indian is seldom seen inactive. Generally speaking, nowhere in South America have I seen a more industrious people than the Jibaros."

2: Stirling--104
116, 226,-278, 461

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"The aboriginal methods of fishing appear to be poisoning, trapping, and spearing. Fish traps as a rule are constructed during high water in overflow areas where streams are about to subside, or along small swollen streams up which fish have ascended from the main rivers. For poisoning fish a dam is generally constructed along a small stream during low water. Barbasco shrub is gathered in sufficient quantities, macerated by means of pounding it between large stones, and then thrown into the water, being careful to distribute it evenly at a point 30 or 40 yards above the fish dam. The juice of the plant spreading through the water stupefies the fish, which rise to the surface in a more or less helpless condition, where they are gathered up by the Indians. On these fish-poisoning occasions generally a large part of the community participate; men, women, and children taking part and make of it an enjoyable social affair."

3: Simcox--367-368 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 441, 512

"They are regular workers, and do not pass the whole day in idleness like many others of their race. They issue forth to hunt, work in their plantations, build canoes, attend to pig breeding, etc., regularly every day; returning to the house generally early in the afternoon to enjoy repose in the lighter occupations of scraping lances or darts for the 'bodoquera,' making combs, feather ornaments, etc., whilst the women, who sometimes go out to work with them, cook and prepare the chicha [388] mass--their standard alimentation, and during their journeys the only one, being convenient and light to carry wrapped up in plantain leaves."

3: Simson--390 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 461, 157

"They [KS: the Canelos] are lazy workers; and the young men, much after the fashion of more civilized communities, given up to dandyism, drink and trivial loquacity. All are excessively curious, and some even coolly placed their hands in my pockets to find out of what the contents consisted. However, some of the old and more serious men are quite steady-going members of society, as a rule; but even these also, on occasion, are fond of their little excesses."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

edge of a leaf held between cupped hands to summon toucans. An ingeniously carved vegetable ivory mouthpiece is used to call agouti. This device often brings agouti to within fifteen to thirty feet of the hunter. Agouti are also sometimes dug out of their burrows by the hunters with digging sticks and aided by hunting dogs. If such efforts fail, traps are set at the mouths of the holes. Traps are otherwise rarely used.

The characteristic hunting expedition is undertaken by the individual hunter, with or without a wife and dogs, and does not usually extend beyond about eight miles from the house. He leaves the house at dawn and, if successful in killing a large animal such as monkey, peccary, or agouti, usually is home by early afternoon. If, however, the hunting is becoming poor in his area, and he has failed to secure meat for several days, he may range so far that he does not return home until dusk. He continues to go out every day until he succeeds in his quest.

When a man kills a large animal, he normally does not go hunting again for four or five days. A typical routine is as follows: the first day after returning from a successful hunt, he fells trees and clears slash for a garden; the next two days he rests, and does spinning and weaving in the house; the fourth day he goes to visit friendly relatives; and the fifth day he goes hunting again.

A second kind of hunting expedition takes place every two months or so in which the hunter, accompanied by a wife and also often by another friendly couple or two, spends about five days in more remote parts of the forest, usually seeking monkeys. Troops of monkeys are more efficiently hunted by men working together, since one hunter alone can usually only kill a fraction of the troop before the rest are startled and flee. The expedition is usually continued until its supply of manioc, plantains, and manioc beer is about to run out

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

When you are living well, thus, with all your *tsi* and *yaci*, if someone comes and kills your *tsi*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yaci*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers.[3]

Today such "giant" trees as referred to by Up de Graff are often felled in a matter of hours by a single man employing a steel axe, or somewhat longer if he only has a machete.

Despite the increased availability of steel axes and machetes for land clearing and weeding in recent decades, the size of forest areas cleared for gardens has not become larger. In fact, garden size and agricultural production are actually reported to have decreased by perhaps a third of what they were several decades ago.[4] Specifically, elderly informants estimate that the present garden size per nuclear family is one half to three quarters of what it was in 1925. They attribute the decline in agricultural production to the disinclination of the young men to clear land "because they do not like to work hard the way their fathers did." Instead, according to the informants, the younger men have their minds fixed on acquiring shotguns, steel tools, and other goods by becoming shamans or trading partners, and also spend more time than formerly in visiting each other's houses, drinking, and engaging in pre- and extra-marital sexual adventures.

There has also been a growing tendency for each household to have several small garden plots rather than the single large garden which was previously typical. This change is attributed to the fact that the steel axe and machete are so much more efficient than the preceding stone tools that a man can now successfully work alone in tree felling without needing to call on his neighbors for help. By avoiding asking them for help, he hopes to maintain better relations with them and thereby secure their services in some more important matter. Since a man usually works alone at intermittent times, the individ-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jivaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the